



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

PERPETUAL PEACE WITH ENGLAND.

A SPECIFIC EFFORT FOR STIPULATED ARBITRATION AS A MEANS OF ACCOMPLISHING THIS END.

It has hitherto been the practice of all nations, not excepting the most enlightened and christian, to rely on the sword for the final decision of their controversies; but this war-system, this unchristian, barbarous principle of might as the arbiter of right, the friends of peace would fain supersede by better means for accomplishing the great ends of international justice and security. We would have nations adjust their difficulties in essentially the same way that individuals do theirs — *by amicable agreement between themselves, or by reference to a third party as umpire.* We ask them to provide for this in their treaties just as they do for anything else, and agree beforehand to have all future controversies, which they cannot satisfactorily adjust by negotiation, settled in the last resort by some form of arbitration.

This point we have long urged upon the public mind, until we begin at length to gain a favorable hearing from rulers themselves, the men who hold this whole question in their hands. In 1851, Hon. H. S. FOOTE, of Mississippi, as Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations in the U. S. Senate, reported, as their unanimous recommendation, “that it would be proper and desirable for the government of these United States, whenever practicable, to secure, in its treaties with other nations, a provision for referring to the decision of umpires all future misunderstandings that cannot be satisfactorily adjusted by amicable negotiation.” There was no time then for further action; and in February, 1853, Hon. J. R. UNDERWOOD, of Kentucky, from the same Committee, made a very long and able report, which closed with recommending, “that the Senate advise the President to secure, whenever it may be practicable, a stipulation in all treaties hereafter entered into with other nations, providing for the adjustment of any misunderstanding or controversy that may arise between the contracting parties, by referring the same to the decision of disinterested and impartial arbitrators, to be mutually chosen.” Four or five of our State Legislatures — all before whom the subject was properly brought — have recently passed, with great unanimity, resolves strongly in favor of the same measure; and there is good reason to believe, that public opinion, both in England and the United States, would, if duly called forth, sanction and applaud such a precaution against future wars.

Indeed, the Executives of these great nations have both entertained this proposal with strong marks of favor. Our late President, and his accomplished Secretary of State, frankly declared their own readiness, after a careful examination of the subject, to insert such a provision in the treaty pending at the time, but not yet completed, between us and Great Britain. Several years ago, Lord JOHN RUSSELL, then Premier of England, said dis

tinctly to a deputation that brought this measure to his special notice, "if the United States should think proper to make such a proposal, the British Government would take it into their most serious consideration." On receiving the Report of Judge Underwood to our Senate, and learning the favorable disposition of our Executive, the leading friends of peace in England had an interview with their Foreign Secretary, Lord CLARENDON, as the result of which, we are assured by a most distinguished member of Parliament, as his 'confident belief, that, if our Government is prepared to insert an arbitration clause in the pending treaties, it will be accepted by theirs.'

Here the matter rests. The treaty, begun last winter at Washington, is ere long to be completed, we understand, in London; and the men now in power will be just as ready as were their predecessors, should the general voice of our people demand it, to insert a stipulation for the adjustment of all future difficulties in the last resort by arbitration instead of the sword. If our Cabinet will just propose such a provision, the British Government will doubtless accept it at once, our Senate will readily confirm it, and thus will be started, under the best possible auspices, a measure likely, if adopted in good faith, to insure perpetual amity between these two great countries, and eventually throughout Christendom and the world; for the vast advantages of such security against war would be sure in time to bring all civilized nations into the measure, as a simple yet effective league of general and permanent peace.

On this subject, as on most others of a like nature, the people of England are far in advance of their government. Few among us know or suspect, for the press does by no means disclose, the full warmth of their kindness towards ourselves; but we speak from personal observation on the spot, and from long correspondence with men who understand well the heart of the English people on this point, when we say that nine-tenths of them, if not the entire mass, would hail with acclamation the measure we propose as a guaranty of perpetual peace between the two countries. We can hardly name a measure that would be more popular with the masses there, or more sure to be rigidly enforced by public opinion through all future ages.

The importance of such a consummation, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to exaggerate. Well did Mr. Everett lately say before the U. S. Senate, "I do beseech you to let us have twenty-five years at least of peace; and in these twenty-five years, we shall exhibit a spectacle of national prosperity such as the world has never seen on so large a scale." We would fain secure this great boon through all coming ages; and, if peace for only one-quarter of a century can work such wonders, what glorious results might we expect from perpetual peace between these two nations?

Let us not forget the *special* bearings of this question on the spread of Christianity. When war, a few years ago, was seriously threatened between us and England, one of our leading religious newspapers proclaimed its belief

that such a war would probably put back the world's conversion a whole century; and it is certain, that our last war with Great Britain, and even our late war with Mexico, neither of them three years in duration, still sacrificed on both sides more property and more lives than the Church of Christ has in five centuries expended in spreading the gospel among the heathen! England and America, God's chosen pioneers in the world's freedom, improvement and salvation, must continue in peace with each other, or this great work, the crowning glory of our age, will inevitably be arrested in its progress.

What, then, shall be done? Disciples of the Prince of Peace, what will *you* do? You have told us, what we fully believe, that we must rely for peace on the gospel of peace; and the time has now come to try the safety of such reliance. Is there, in these two leading nations of Christendom, Christianity enough to secure the simple measure we urge as a guaranty, under God, of their perpetual peace? We believe there is, if it were properly called forth; and it would be easy for the pulpit and the press, in a single month, to call it forth in a way that would render the desired result morally certain. *Shall it, then, be done?* Let our 200 Christian presses, and our 20,000 Christian pulpits, answer this question under a due sense of their responsibility to the God of Peace, and in full view of the vast, incalculable interests for time and eternity suspended on the issue.

MEASURES TO BE TAKEN.

It clearly rests with the people of this country to say whether there shall be incorporated in the treaty now pending between us and England, a provision for the adjustment of all their future difficulties by arbitration instead of the sword. The British Government, though not disposed to take the initiative, is ready to accept such a proposal from us; and our Executive, if fully persuaded that the mass of our people desire it, will not hesitate long, if at all, to propose the measure.

On this point, we are bound to give our rulers the most ample assurance. The President, as the people's chief servant, can be expected to move in such a matter only in accordance with their known or supposed wishes; and hence, if they really desire him to take this important step, they ought as a body to say so in ways that shall leave no possible doubt. The whole people, without distinction of party or section, should lift their voice to him in earnest entreaty for this great measure of peace. It is an object clearly common to them all; a movement that knows no North or South, no East or West; a question on which no issues of party, sect or section can possibly be made. It is a measure strictly national in every one of its aspects and bearings. All parts of the country need it; and we ought to satisfy our rulers that the people as a body desire it, and will heartily applaud the men who shall secure for them so rich and lasting a boon.

For this purpose, then, we want a general expression of the popular will, not only through our leading papers, but especially in the form of petitions

to the President from all parts of the land, a large State Memorial from every State in the Union. How shall this be done? We can ourselves send forth few if any, agents for the work; and hence it must be done, if at all, by the spontaneous efforts of the friends of peace. We shall send printed forms of petitions to ministers of the gospel with the request that every one of them will first preach a sermon on Peace to awaken the requisite interest, then appoint suitable persons to procure signatures in his own congregation, if not throughout the place, and, when all are obtained, forward them to the person designated in each State to receive the names, and unite them in one grand State Memorial.

Seldom, if ever, has there been an opportunity to accomplish so much for the cause of Peace by a single vigorous effort; and, wherever proposed, it has thus far been received by the wise and good with every mark of special favor. All the ecclesiastical bodies, before which it could be brought on so short notice, have promptly passed, with entire unanimity in every case, resolutions warmly commending the movement to the Christian community.

Now, is there any need of further argument from us to enforce the claims of such an object upon any friend of God or man? It will indeed require a special effort; but, if successful, its results will reward us, even in this life, ten thousand times over. For a similar movement, our co-workers in England have lately raised \$50,000, six men subscribing each \$2,500. We send forth this appeal not so much to ask for contributions, though we deeply need them, and should very thankfully receive them, as to solicit in all earnestness your prompt, spontaneous co-operation in this labor of peace and love—articles from the pen of writers for the press, sermons from ministers of the gospel, and personal efforts from laymen in procuring signatures to petitions. Millions should unite in these petitions to our Chief Magistrate, asking him to do a deed that will endear his name to all future generations. We cannot well express our own conceptions of the importance of this measure; but we verily believe its full success would draw after it, in the long train of coming ages, results more important to our country, to Christendom and the world, than the whole amount of good that has yet been accomplished by all the united enterprises of Christian benevolence and reform during the last fifty years.

ACTION OF ECCLESIASTICAL BODIES.

We had time to bring the movement before only a few ecclesiastical bodies; but in every case they took prompt, decided and unanimous action in its favor. We quote only a part, not having been furnished with an authentic copy of the resolutions adopted by all.

The Evangelical Consociation of Rhode Island, at their meeting in Barrington, June 14–16, took the following action:—

“As the friends of peace united in, and acting with the American Peace Society, are now making a special effort to induce our National Government

to embody in its future treaties with other Governments, a stipulation to substitute peaceable arbitration for all appeals to the sword; We, therefore, earnestly recommend prompt co-operation with the effort, in petitions from the people throughout our bounds, to the Government in this behalf."

The General Association of Congregational Ministers in Massachusetts, at their late meeting in Yarmouth, June 28—30, adopted unanimously the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That we cordially commend to the favor and co-operation of the christian community, the special efforts now making by the friends of Peace, to secure permanent peace between this country and England, by a provision in the pending treaty between them for the adjustment of all future misunderstandings by reference, in the last resort, to umpires instead of the sword.

Resolved, That, regarding the permanent preservation of peace between England and the United States as an object of vast importance, not only to these nations themselves, but to the whole world, we heartily commend to the prompt and earnest co-operation of the christian community the special movement now undertaken by the friends of peace in our country to secure such a result, by procuring, in the treaty expected soon to be negotiated between these two Governments, a provision referring to the decision of arbiters, mutually chosen, all future controversies that cannot be satisfactorily adjusted by negotiation.

The Convention of Congregational and Presbyterian Ministers in Vermont, at their session in Windsor, June 21—3, took the following action:—

Whereas, Those who feel deeply the evils of war are making an effort, on an extensive scale, to petition the President of the United States to introduce into all treaties, when practicable, an article by which it shall be stipulated that difficulties which cannot be settled by negotiation, shall be referred to an umpire for decision; and whereas, the effect contemplates the removal of the terrible scourge of war, is demanded by the cause of humanity, and is vitally connected with the interests of freedom, and the extension of the gospel among the nations, therefore,

Resolved, unanimously, That by our sermons, by our prayers, and by all reasonable efforts, we will, as clergymen and laymen, contribute our influence to give effect to the noble enterprise contemplated.

Whereas, This subject vitally interests all the inhabitants of our country, even to its utmost borders;

Resolved, That we respectfully request each of the ecclesiastical bodies of this country with which we hold correspondence, to act on this vastly important subject.

The General Association of Connecticut at their meeting in Waterbury, June 21—24, unanimously adopted the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That the Gospel, as God's appointed remedy for the cure of human ills, ought to be so applied in its pacific principles and influences, as to obviate the necessity and prevent the recurrence of war between nations reputedly christian.

Resolved, That the time has come when such a method should be sought, and may, by God's blessing on suitable efforts, be secured between our own country and Great Britain.

Resolved, That we fully approve, and commend to the favor and support of the ministers and churches within our limits, the special efforts now proposed by the friends of Peace, to procure the speedy adoption, by our own and the British Government, of a provision for the settlement of all future misunderstandings by arbitration as the last resort instead of the sword.

The General Conference of Maine took a similar stand in favor of the movement; but we have not yet received an authentic copy of their action. These are all the ecclesiastical bodies before which we have had time to bring the subject.

PROSPECTS OF THIS EFFORT.—It must, of course, require time to carry out a plan like this, which proposes a general appeal to the friends of peace throughout the country; but the prospects of success are better than we could have expected at so early a day. Arrangements have been made for promptly canvassing all the New England States; and our Secretary has just returned from a tour of nearly 3000 miles through the West, where he has attempted, with good prospects of success, similar arrangements for seven of the Western States. We are greatly indebted to our friend THOMAS H. PALMER, Esq., for the labors he is now performing for the object in Vermont; and, if those who have undertaken a similar service for other States, are as zealous and successful in their spheres, we shall in due time have a very encouraging report to make. If all who profess, and really feel friendship for our cause, will just come promptly to our aid in this movement, it cannot fail; and its full success will reward *all* our past efforts a thousand times over.

STIPULATED ARBITRATION.

ACTION OF THE LEGISLATURE OF CONNECTICUT.

This subject was brought by petition before the Legislature of Connecticut near the middle of May; and by the kind and efficient agency of our friend, the Hon. HAWLEY OLMSTEAD, a member of the Senate from New Haven, the following resolutions were adopted June 30th:—

RESOLUTIONS IN FAVOR OF STIPULATED ARBITRATION AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR WAR.

Whereas, the determination of national controversies by an appeal to arms, is always and inevitably productive of immense evils; and whereas the spirit and enterprises of the age, but more especially the genius of our government, the habits of our people, and the highest permanent prosperity of the Republic, as well as the claims of humanity & the precepts of the Christian religion, obligatory alike on individuals and nations, all require the adoption of every feasible measure consistent with the national honor, and the security of our rights, to prevent, as far as possible, the recurrence of war hereafter; therefore.

Resolved by this Assembly, That it is eminently proper and desirable for the government of these United States, whenever practicable to secure in its treaties with other nations, a provision referring to the decision of umpires all future questions and disagreements that can not be satisfactorily adjusted by amicable negotiation, in the first instance, before a resort to hostilities shall be had.

Resolved, That the Senators and Representatives in Congress from this State,